

Message Text

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SUBJ: USSR VISIT OF AM SPEC JONATHAN MOORE; U.S. POLITICAL PROCESS

REF: MOSCOW 3992

1. SUMMARY: IN FIVE PROGRAM DAYS IN THE SOVIET UNION, AMSPEC JONATHAN MOORE, DIRECTOR OF KENNEDY INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AT HARVARD, DISCUSSED TRENDS IN ELECTORATE BEHAVIOR, SHIFTS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, AND NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN U.S. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WITH IMPORTANT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE USSR'S ACADEMIC AND JOURNALISTIC COMMUNITIES. IN HIS EXCELLENT PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSION REMARKS, MOORE WAS ALWAYS CONSCIOUS OF, AND ABLE TO RESPOND TO, THE NEED TO RELATE THESE TO CURRENT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. MOORE'S VISIT WAS OF GREAT VALUE IN EMBASSY'S EFFORTS TO PROVIDE UP-TO-DATE FACTS ON CURRENT US DOMESTIC POLITICS AND TO ENGAGE SOVIETS CONCERNED WITH STUDYING AND REPORTING ON US AFFAIRS IN INFORMATIVE DIALOGUE ON US-SOVIET RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

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2. JONATHAN MOORE DEPARTED THE SOVIET UNION APRIL 3

AFTER FIVE FULL DAYS OF PROGRAMS IN MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD, DURING WHICH HE PARTICIPATED IN ELEVEN EVENTS, INCLUDING FORMAL PRESENTATIONS, INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS, SOCIAL EVENTS, AND CALLS. MOORE SPENT AN ENTIRE DAY AT THE USA INSTITUTE ON MARCH 29, LECTURING FIRST TO AN AUDIENCE OF FORTY (INCLUDING SIX REPS OF MFA USA DIVISION) ON CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICAN POLITICS. IN HIS PRESENTATION, MOORE REVIEWED ASPECTS OF AMERICAN POLITICS WHICH COULD MAKE 1976 ELECTION AND FUTURE AMERICAN POLITICS DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF PAST. THE USA INSTITUTE PROFESSIONAL STAFF RESPONDED WITH A SERIES OF WELL-FORMULATED, PROBING QUESTIONS WHICH EVIDENCED THEIR NEED TO RELATE THESE DEVELOPMENTS TO SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN A PREDICTIVE WAY. MOORE RESPONDED TO THESE THOUGHTFULLY AND CAREFULLY IN AN HOUR-LONG DIALOGUE. USA INSTITUTE DEPUTY DIRECTOR BOGDANOV THEN INVITED MOORE AND ACCOMPANYING EMBOFF TO LUNCH AT JOURNALISTS' CLUB. DISCUSSION CENTERED ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND THEIR CHANCES FOR THE NOMINATIONS AND THE WORK OF MOORE'S INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AT HARVARD.

3. FOLLOWING LUNCH, MOORE RETURNED TO USA INSTITUTE FOR INTENSIVE DISCUSSION WITH BOGDANOV, INST. MILITARY AFFAIRS EXPERT MILSHTEYN, AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARY IVANYAN ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. THIS DISCUSSION REPLACED A PLANNED MEETING AT WHICH MOORE WAS SUPPOSED TO DISCUSS WITH INSTITUTE STAFF MEMBERS THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND THEIR POSITIONS ON VARIOUS ISSUES. THE STAFF MEMBERS WHO HAD BEEN PLANNING TO PARTICIPATE WERE NOT TOLD IN ADVANCE THAT THEIR SESSION WAS CANCELLED IN FAVOR OF THE DISCUSSION WITH BOGDANOV, LEADING EMBOFF PRESENT TO CONCLUDE THAT BOGDANOV PERSONALLY AND QUICKLY DECIDED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF MOORE'S PRESENCE IN ORDER TO GAIN TIMELY INSIGHTS INTO US THINKING ON CURRENT RELATIONS. BOGDANOV WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN SALT II AND IN SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESIDENT FORD'S DECISION TO DROP USE OF WORD "DETENTE." MOORE INDICATED HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS SALT, BUT EXPLAINED CAREFULLY THAT, IN HIS VIEW, PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT PRIOR TO FLORIDA PRIMARY ON USE OF WORD "DETENTE" WAS MASTERFUL TACTICAL

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STEP DESIGNED TO ENABLE HIM TO CONTINUE OVERALL POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS, IN SUMMARY, THAT IMPROVED RELATIONS ARE VITAL AND THAT US WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO SEEK THEM. MOORE MADE VERY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT WHAT HE DESCRIBES AS "NET PLUS OF AMERICAN PUBLIC" WHICH FAVORS IMPROVED RELATIONS WILL NOT ACCEPT AS "ARTICLE OF FAITH" THAT RELATIONS ARE IMPROVING AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. MOORE EMPHASIZED THAT AMERICAN

PUBLIC NEEDS TO SEE CONTINUING PROGRESS IN DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS AND THAT ANGOLA, RADIATION AT EMBASSY, AND CURRENT WAVE OF THREATENING PHONE CALLS AND BOMB SCARES CAN ONLY DIMINISH SUPPORT FOR BETTER RELATIONS. MOORE AGAIN EMPHASIZED THESE POINTS IN DISCUSSION WITH FOUR LEADING USA INSTITUTE STAFF MEMBERS IN A LUNCHEON HOSTED BY P&C COUNSELOR IN HIS HONOR ON MARCH 31.

4. TWO-HOUR DISCUSSION WITH BOGDANOV WAS VERY USEFUL IN THAT IT GAVE MOORE USEFUL GUIDANCE FOR HIS OTHER PROGRAM SESSIONS. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" FOREIGN EDITOR PRUDKOV AND STAFF MEMBERS, MOORE AGAIN EMPHASIZED THAT IMPROVED RELATIONS ENJOY NET POSITIVE BALANCE OF SUPPORT, BUT THAT SOVIETS MUST BE AWARE OF HOW THEIR ACTIONS ARE PERCEIVED IN US AND MUST, IN TURN, CONSIDER THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THEIR ACTIONS BEFORE THEY TAKE THEM. EMBOFF HAS LEARNED THAT APRIL 7 ISSUE OF LIT GAZ WILL CONTAIN ARTICLE OR INTERVIEW WITH MOORE WHICH WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL. IN AN EVENING SESSION WITH POLITICAL COMMENTATOR BORIS STRELINKOV OF PRAVDA, MOORE WENT INTO GREAT DETAIL ON THE VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND THEIR POSITIONS ON US-USSR RELATIONS.

5. AT THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, MOORE WAS AGAIN ABLE TO EMPHASIZE HIS MAIN POINTS CONCERNING THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS AND CURRENT VIEWS ON US-USSR RELATIONS IN COURSE OF TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH THE INSTITUTE'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPT. CHIEF BYKOV AND SEVERAL OF HIS HOUNGER ASSISTANTS. HERE, ALSO, THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN THE CANDIDATES AND MOORE DEVELOPED FOR THE IMEMO REPS SEVERAL POSSIBLE SCENARIOS LEADING TO THE NOMINATION OF DIFFERENT CANDIDATES. IN LENINGRAD, TOO, MOORE PROVIDED A WEALTH OF INFORMATION ON THE CANDIDATES, UNCLASSIFIED

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THE ELECTION, AND RELEVANCE FOR FOREIGN POLICY TO A MIXED AUDIENCE OF SCHOLARS, JOURNALISTS, AND POLITICAL LEADERS AT THE HOUSE OF FRIENDSHIP. MOORE DESCRIBED THIS PARTICULAR GROUP WHICH INCLUDED A HIGH PROPORTION OF YOUNG EXPERTS, AND THEIR QUESTIONS AND INTEREST IN DISCUSSION AS BEST HE HAD HAD ON TRIP TO DATE. QUESTIONS COVERED FIELD FROM CURRENT U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA TO HOW PRESIDENT FORD'S CAMPAIGN TACTICS ARE LIKELY TO CHANGE AFTER THE NOMINATING CONVENTION.

6. MOORE ALSO SPOKE ON CURRENT TRENDS IN POLITICS AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR AT MOSCOW'S INSTITUTE OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION ON SOCIAL SCIENCES, WHERE AN AUDIENCE OF THIRTY STAFF MEMBERS LISTENED CAREFULLY TO HIS COMMENTS AND THEN ASKED SERIES OF WELL-FORMULATED QUESTIONS REFLECTING HIGH DEGREE OF FAMILIARITY WITH SUBJECT

MATTER ON PARTY IDENTIFICATION PATTERNS, PARTY
CONVENTION DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESSES, AND ROLE OF
MEDIA IN CAMPAIGN.

7. MOORE'S VISIT WAS A HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL ONE. HE
IS AN EXCELLENT SPEAKER AND A CAREFUL LISTENER WHOSE
EXPERTISE SHOULD BE USED ON FUTURE OCCASIONS TO
EXPLAIN AMERICAN POLITICS AND POLICY TO FOREIGN AUDIENCES.
EMB WILL SHORTLY SUBMIT A PROPOSAL TO HAVE MOORE
RETURN EARLY IN 1977 TO EXPLAIN RESULTS AND SIGNIFICANCE
OF ELECTIONS.
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